

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01

SAJ-01 ACDA-05 OMB-01 EA-07 BIB-01 EB-07 CU-02 /088 W

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R 191500Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3534

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION US BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

CINCEUR

CINCLANT

USMISSION GENEVE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USIA WASHDC

USMISSION USUN

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 11772

CINCEUR, CINCLANT FOR POLADS

USIA FOR IBS, IEE, IPS

E.O. 11652: GDS

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR, PO

SUBJ: PRAVDA COMMENTARY ACCUSES WEST OF MASSIVE INTERFERENCE  
IN PORTUGAL

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: IN WHAT IS PROBABLY INTENDED AS A QUASI-OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S BIRMINGHAM SPEECH, PRAVDA ON AUGUST 19 IN AN AUTHORITATIVE "OBSERVER" COMMENTARY HURLS A BROADLY FOCUSED ACCUSTATION AT THE WEST, AS WELL AS AT PEKING, OF MASSIVE INTERFERENCE IN PORTUGUESE INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE EC IS ACCUSED OF "OUTRIGHT BLACKMAIL," AND THE U.S. IS (IF ONLY IMPLICITLY) LINKED WITH SEPARATIST GROUPS ON THE AZORES. THE COMMENTARY, WHICH ATTACKS THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR FAILING TO LIVE UP TO PRE-ELECTORAL BARGAINING, EXPLOITING POPULARITY OF SOCIALIST SLOGANS IN BAD FAITH, AIDING AND ABETTING THE FORCES OF REACTION, MAKES NO SUBSTANTIVELY NEW POINTS OTHER THAN DRAWING SOMEWHAT OMINOUS PARALLEL BETWEEN CHILE ON THE EVE OF THE OVERTHROW OF ALLENDE AND THE PRESENT SITUATION IN PORTUGAL. COMMENTARY ENDORSES PCP PROGRAM STATEMENT THAT THE "FORCES OF REACTION CANNOT BE PERMITTED TO USE DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS TO DESTROY THOSE FREEDOMS AND ESTABLISH A DICTATORSHIP," BUT ENDS OF REAFFIRMATION OF SOVIET BELIEF IN NON-INTERFERENCE AND CALL FOR BOTH "INTERNATIONAL MASS SOLIDARITY" IN SUPPORT OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES AND UNITY OF ACTION OF AFM, PCP, COMMUNISTS AND ALL LEFT PROGRESSIVES IN PORTUGAL. THE COMMENTARY CAN BE EXPECTED TO SET SOMETHING OF A STANDARD FOR FUTURE SOVIET MEDIA TREATMENT OF THE ISSUE. IF SO, WE CAN EXPECT A CONSIDERABLY HARSHER TONE THAN HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE UP TO THIS POINT. WE CAN ALSO PROBABLY EXPECT THE PRESS AND SOME PRIVATE SOVIETOLOGISTS TO DRAW PARALLEL BETWEEN THIS COMMENTARY AND THE ZARODOV ARTICLE ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS (REFTEL), ESPECIALLY ON THEME OF DENIGRATION OF SIGNIFICANCE OF ELECTION RESULTS. AT SAME TIME, WE SEE MORE AUTHORITATIVE CHARACTER OF ARTICLE, ITS EMPHASIS ON OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, AND FINAL PLEA FOR LEFT UNITY AS SIGNS OF INCREASING SOVIET CONCERN OVER DETERIORATION OF PCP SITUATION. SOVIET MAY BE IN CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCESS OF PREPARING EXPLANATION FOR COLLAPSE, WITH SOCIALISTS AND WEST AS HEAVIES BUT WITH SOME BLAME FOR PCP AS WELL. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FOLLOWING IS A COMPLETE PARAPHRASE OF THE COMMENTARY. WE FIND THAT THE TASS ENGLISH SUMMARY FAILS TO COMMUNICATE THE TENOR OF THE ORIGINAL ARTICLE:

(A) BEGINS PARAPHRASE: "ALARMING NEWS" FROM PORTUGAL BRINGS WORD THAT REACTIONARY FORCES WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND BEYOND ITS BORDERS HAVE MOUNTED AN ACTIVE OFFENSIVE TO SPLIT REVOLUTIONARY FORCES, BREAK OFF THE PROCESS OF RADICAL CHANGE. DESPITE DIFFICULTIES OF PAST MONTHS SUCH RADICAL CHANGES HAVE BEEN MADE AND CONTINUE TO BE MADE. AT THE SAME TIME THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT, INCLUDING NATO MEMBERSHIP. THESE CHANGES HAVE CALLED FORTH ACTIVE OPPOSITION BY INTERNATIONAL AND INTERNAL REACTION.

(B) "OBSERVER" CONTINUES: BEFORE THE ELECTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON COMMON PLATFORM BETWEEN THE AFM AND THE "DEMOCRATIC PARTIES." THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WERE "CLEARLY CIRCUMSCRIBED," AND IT WAS AGREED THAT THE "CARRYING OUT OF THE ELECTIONS, AS WELL AS THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS, WERE TO INFLUENCE NEITHER THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY NOR THE STRUCTURE OF THE RULING ORGANS." SOME LEADERS, HOWEVER, VIOLATED THIS UNDERSTANDING, MISUSING THE PROGRESSIVE CREDENTIALS OF THE COMMON PLATFORM. REACTIONARY FORCES ALSO RELIED ON THE INFLUENCE OF MANY YEARS OF FASCISM OF THE ELECTORATE, MANY OF WHOM DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCES IN THE PROGRAMS OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES, AND A THIRD OF WHOM ARE ILLITERATE. "SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIALS, KNOWING THAT THE RESULTS OF ELECTIONS OFTEN DO NOT REFLECT THE TRUE BALANCE OF POLITICAL FORCES IN A COUNTRY, WAITED ONLY FOR THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION IN ORDER TO ATTEMPT TO MOVE FROM A POSITION OF STRENGTH, RELYING ON THE NUMERICAL DATA..."

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(C) THE COMMENTARY CONTINUES: THE SOCIALIST PARTY ESCALATED ITS EXTREME DEMANDS, EVEN TO THE EXTENT OF DEMANDING THE REMOVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER. THE POLITICAL CRISIS THUS CREATED WAS USED BY REACTIONARY FORCES TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF "PROVOCATION, UNCERTAINTY, AND SABOTAGE OF THE PROGRESSIVE CHANGES." THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD REACTION HAS COUNTED ON THE INSTABILITY OF SOME POLITICAL ELEMENTS, ESPECIALLY IN PROVINCIAL TOWNS AND IN THE NORTHERN COUNTRYSIDE. "BUT (REACTIONARY FORCES) HAVE RELIED PRIMARILY ON ORGANIZED SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE, FROM NATO CIRCLES. IT IS NO SECRET THAT INTERNATIONAL REACTION BEGAN INTERFERING IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL FROM THE VERY FIRST DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION." "THE RULERS OF THE MILITARY-POLITICAL MACHINE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC

BLOC POUNCED UPON PORTUGAL WITH CRUDE ATTACKS." IN ADDITION TO NATO MILITARY MANEUVERS IN PORTUGAL'S WATERS AND ON ITS TERRITORY, THE PRESSURE FROM NATO CONSISTED OF "ECONOMIC SABOTAGE" AND THE ORGANIZATION OF A NOISILY ANTI-PORTUGUESE (AND AT THE SAME TIME ANTICOMMUNIST) CAMPAIGN." "IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CALL THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S POLICY ON SO-CALLED ECONOMIC AID TO PORTUGAL ANYTHING OTHER THAN OUTRIGHT BLACKMAIL (PRYAMOY SHANTAZH)...".

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ACTION EUR-12

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

CINCEUR

CINCLANT

USMISSION GENEVE

AMEMBASSY LOSBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USIA WASHDC

USMISSION USUN

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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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(D) "OBSERVER" CONTINUES ON THE THEME OF OUTSIDE  
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INTERFERENCE: THIS APPROACH IS COORDINATED ON AN INTERNATIONAL SCALE. IN PARALLEL WITH EVENTS IN PORTUGAL "IMPERIALIST FORCES AND THEIR PEKING ALLIES" ATTEMPT TO INFLAME THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA, AND ON THE AZORES, "WHERE THE U.S. BASE LAJES IS LOCATED," SEPARATIST GROUPS HAVE BEGUN TO STIR. "IT IS NECESSARY TO EMPHASIZE" THAT ONE OF THE MORE ACTIVE ROLES IN THIS INTERFERENCE IS BEING PLAYED BY THE LEADERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, "THOUGH SOBER VOICES ARE ALSO HEARD IN THEIR RANKS."

(E) "OBSERVER" THEN TURNS ON THE SOCIALIST PARTY: THE LEADERS OF THE SP HAVE BEEN TRYING TO SPLIT THE AFM, AND THEY HAVE FINALLY ACHIEVED THEIR GOAL; DISCORD HAS ARISEN IN THAT MOVEMENT. "AFTER 'MEETINGS' AND 'DISCUSSIONS' CONDUCTED BY SP EMISSARIES IN PROVINCIAL CITIES, TERRORIST GROUPS ARE FORMED" WHICH HAVE BEGUN TO MOUNT ARMED ATTACKS ON COMMUNIST OFFICES. THE SP IS GATHERING UNDER ITS FLAG ALL REACTIONARY FORCES, "WHETHER THE LEADERS (OF THE PARTY) WANT IT OR NOT." THESE FORCES DID NOT DARE RAISE THEIR HEAD WHEN THE SP WORKED IN A UNIFIED BLOC WITH OTHER PARTIES; BUT NOW, "ENCOURAGED BY THE SP'S REACTIONARY LINE," THEY ARE BEGINNING TO CONSOLIDATE. MANY FOREIGN OBSERVERS POINT OUT THAT NOT ONLY IN THE GENERAL ANTI-DEMOCRATIC AND ANTICOMMUNIST TENOR, BUT ALSO "IN SIMILARITY TO METHODS OF ACTION, THE PRESENT OFFENSIVE BY REACTIONARY FORCES IS REMINISCENT OF EVENTS ON THE EVE OF THE FASCIST COUP IN CHILE."

(F) THE COMMENTARY CONCLUDES WITH A CALL FOR SUPPORT FOR "REVOLUTIONARY FORCES": "...NO ONE AMONG THE TRUE FRIENDS OF PORTUGAL CAN REMAIN INDIFFERENT TO THE REACTIONARY PLOTS IN THAT COUNTRY. IT IS VERY IMPORTANT AT PRESENT TO MANIFEST MASS SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE POLITICAL FORCES IN PORTUGAL..." STRUGGLING AGAINST REACTION. THE PCP RESPECTS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE AND WILL OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO DISTORT THAT WILL.

AS THE PCP PROGRAM STATES, " THE FORCES OF REACTION CANNOT  
BE PERMITTED TO USE DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS TO LIQUIDATE  
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THESE FREEDOMS AND ESTABLISH A DICTORSHIP." "THE  
SOVIET PEOPLE, FIRMLY DEFENDING THE PRINCIPLE OF  
NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER  
COUNTRIES, CALL FOR SOLUTION OF THE VERY COMPLICATED  
PROBLEMS FACING THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE BY THE PORTUGUESE  
THEMSELVES. THE SOVIET NATION HAS DEEP SYMPATHY FOR  
THE STRIVING OF THE PORTUGUESE DEMOCRATS FOR UNITY  
OF ACTION OF THE AFM, COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, ALL  
LEFT PROGRESSIVE FORCES WHO COME OUT FOR THE STRENGTHENING  
OF THE DEMOCRATIC REGIME IN THE COUNTRY. FOR DEFENSE  
OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE  
NATION." END PARAPHRASE.  
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